

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-12 IO-13 EB-08 COME-00
TRSE-00 OMB-01 OES-07 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8273
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 2824

CINCPAC FOR POLAD USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS:JA, UR, CH, PEPR
SUBJECT: SOVIETS UNILATERALLY PUBLISH DRAFT JAPANESE-
SOVIET TREATY

SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE SOVIETS UNILATERALLY PUBLISHED FULL
TEXT OF THEIR PROPOSED SOVIET-JAPANESE "GOOD NEIGHBOR-
HOOD AND COOPERATION TREATY" TO DRAMATIZE SOVIET OPPOS-
ITION TO SINO-JAPANESE PFT AT A TIME WHEN SINO-JAPANESE
TRADE ACCORD HAS PRODUCED HEIGHTENED SPECULATION IN
JAPAN THAT PFT WILL BE SIGNED. JAPANESE DIPLOMATS
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HERE THINK UNILATERAL SOVIET PUBLICATION WILL ENGENDER
MORE SUSPICION THAN SUPPORT IN JAPAN. MEANWHILE, OUR
SOVIET CONTACTS HERE ARE BEGINNING TO SHOW SOMEWHAT
LESS CONFIDENCE THAT TOKYO CAN "HOLD OUT" ON PFT. END
SUMMARY

1. TASS ENGLISH ON FEBRUARY 23 PUBLISHED FULL TEXT OF

SOVIET PROPOSED SOVIET-JAPANESE "GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD AND COOPERATION TREATY", ALONG WITH UNSIGNED EDITORIAL, "IN THE INTEREST OF GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS". IZVESTIYA FEB. 23 AND PRAVDA FEB. 24 CARRIED BOTH ITEMS.

2. THE THREAD OF SOVIET CONCERN OVER FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND THE SIGNING OF SINO-JAPANESE PFT RUNS THROUGH THE TREATY TEXT AND THE EDITORIAL. THE MOST NOTEWORTHY ASPECT OF BOTH IS THE STRONG SOVIET EMPHASIS ON BILATERALISM IN JAPANESE-SOVIET RELATIONS, TO THE EXCLUSION OF OUTSIDE "INTERFERENCE" WHICH MIGHT HARM INTERESTS OF EITHER PARTY. THUS, THE DRAFT TREATY:

-- PROHIBITS THE PARTIES FROM ALLOWING "THE USE OF THEIR TERRITORIES FOR ANY ACTIONS WHICH COULD PREJUDICE THE SECURITY OF THE OTHER PARTY". (NOTE: THE ANTI-U.S. OVERTONES OF THIS CLAUSE ARE SOMEWHAT BLURRED BY A SUBSEQUENT CLAUSE STATING "THIS TREATY SHALL NOT EFFECT THE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED EARLIER BY THE USSR AND JAPAN..."END NOTE)

--PROHIBITS THE PARTIES FROM "ENCOURAGING ANY THIRD PARTY TO TAKE AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST THE OTHER;

-- IN AN "ANTI-DOMINATION" CLAUSE, DECLARES THAT BOTH
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PARTIES DO NOT CLAIM AND DO NOT RECOGNIZE ANYONE'S CLAIMS TO SPECIAL RIGHTS AND ADVANTAGES IN WORLD AFFAIRS INCLUDING CLAIMS TO DOMINATION IN ASIA AND IN THE AREA OF THE FAR EAST. (NOTE: THE FIRST CLAUSE OF THIS SENTENCE IS ALMOST IDENTICAL TO CLAUSE CONTAINED PARA 11, 1972 SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES. END NOTE.)

-- STATES THAT TREATY IS NOT "DIRECTED AGAINST ANY THIRD COUNTRY"; (NOTE: THIS ALSO APPEARS BASED ON PARA 11 OF 1972 SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES. END NOTE.)

-- EDITORIAL STATES THAT "IT MUST BE STRESSED" THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSED TREATY "WOULD NOT BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE RELATIONS OF THE USSR AND JAPAN WITH THIRD COUNTRIES AND WOULD NOT INFRINGE UPON THE INTERESTS OF OTHER STATES."

3. THE DRAFT TREATY SEEKS TO (IN THE WORDS OF THE EDITORIAL) "COVER THOSE FIELDS" IN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS THAT HAVE "RIPENED FOR PLACING THEM ON A FIRM CONTRACTUAL BASIS" BY:

--PROVIDING FOR "REGULAR CONTACTS AND CONSULTATIONS" BY
"LEADING STATESMEN" OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THROUGH
DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, AS WELL AS EMERGENCY CONSULTATIONS
SHOULD THERE ARISE A SITUATION "DANGEROUS FOR MAINTAINING
PEACE";

--ENHANCING ECONOMIC COOPERATION,;

--INCREASING BILATERAL COOPERATION IN SCIENTIFIC,
TECHNOLOGICAL AND OTHER AREAS, THROUGH JOINT COMMISSIONS
OR OTHER JOINT BODIES WHEREVER BOTH PARTIES DEEM
"ADVISABLE".

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4. THE DRAFT TREATY AND EDITORIAL GIVE ONLY PASSING
REFERENCE TO THE MAIN OBSTACLE IN JAPANESE-SOVIET
RELATIONS: JAPANESE CLAIMS TO THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES.
THE TREATY'S PREAMBLE REFERS TO THE "REAFFIRMING" OF
BOTH SIDES' INTENTION "TO CONTINUE TALKS ON THE
CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY". THE EDITORIAL ADMITS
THAT THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY "DOES NOT RESOLVE THE
QUESTION OF A PEACE TREATY... IN REGARD TO WHICH THE
SOVIET SIDE IS READY TO PLACE ON RECORD THE INTENTION
TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS". IT HOLDS THAT JAPAN'S

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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 02824

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAS 4, 5, AND 6 CORRECTED)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET PROPOSED TREATY WOULD "IMPROVE
THE SITUATION FOR TALKS ON A PEACE TREATY".

5. EDITORIAL ENDS BY CHALLENGING THE
JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO "SUBSTANTIATE WITH ACTUAL DEEDS
ITS STATEMENTS ABOUT THE STRIVING FOR FRIENDLY
NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION" BY SIGNING
THE TREATY.

6. COMMENT: MOSCOW'S UNILATERAL PUBLICATION OF ITS DRAFT
TREATY IS ANOTHER SOVIET ATTEMPT TO DRAMATIZE ITS
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OPPOSITION TO TOKYO'S SIGNING THE SINO-JAPANESE PFT
WITH ITS ANTI-SOVIET HEGEMONY CLAUSE AND ALSO TO
INFLUENCE OPINIONS OF JAPANESE DECISION-MAKERS AT A
TIME WHEN THE SIGNING OF THE JAPANESE-PRC TRADE
AGREEMENT HAS HEIGHTENED EXPECTATIONS ON SINO-JAPANESE
PFT SIGNING. AMBASSADOR POLYANSKIY'S DELIVERY OF THE
BREZHNEV-FUKUDA LETTER REPORTEDLY CALLING FOR CONCLUSION
OF THE SOVIET PROPOSED TREATY AND INVITING FUKUDA TO
MOSCOW WERE PROBABLY DIRECTED TOWARD THE SAME END.
(NOTE: JAPANESE EMBOFF HERE TELLS US THE SOVIETS OWE
THE JAPANESE A PRIME MINISTERIAL VISIT, THAT BOTH
KOSYGIN AND BREZHNEV HAVE BEEN INVITED TO JAPAN, AND
THAT BREZHNEV'S LETTER, PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THIS, MERELY
ASKED THE JAPANESE TO "EXPLORE" POSSIBILITY OF FUKUDA
VISIT TO THE USSR. END NOTE) FURTHER, MOSCOW UNDOUBTEDLY
SEES LITTLE OR NO POSSIBILITY FOR THE JAPANESE TO SIGN
OR TO EVEN TO TALK ABOUT ITS PROPOSED TREATY AND
INTERPRETS PUBLICATION AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUBLICIZE
SOVIET GOOD WILL AND DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN JAPANESE-
SOVIET RELATIONS IN A MANNER THAT WOULD NOT ADVERSELY
AFFECT THIRD COUNTRIES. THIS, OF COURSE, IS PRECISELY
THE SOVIET'S ANNOUNCED REASONS FOR STRONG SOVIET
OPPOSITION TO THE SINO-JAPANESE PFT WITH ITS ANTI-

SOVIET HEGEMONY CLAUSE. HOWEVER, OUR JAPANESE EMBASSY COLLEAGUES HERE ARE CRITICISING THE SOVIET UNILATERAL PUBLICATION OF THE TREATY AS "UNDIPLOMATIC" AND "IMPOLITE" AND LIKELY TO CREATE MORE SUSPICION THAN SUPPORT AMONG THE JAPANESE PRESS AND PUBLIC. THEY STATE THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO RESPOND TO THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY EVEN AFTER ITS PUBLICATION SINCE TOKYO REFUSES TO BEGIN TALKS BEFORE A PEACE TREATY SETTLES THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM.

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7. SOVIET PUBLICATION OF THE DRAFT TREATY COMES AT A TIME WHEN OUR SOVIET CONTACTS IN MFA AND ELSEWHERE PRIVATELY ARE BEGINNING TO SHOW SOMEWHAT LESS CONFIDENCE IN TOKYO'S ABILITY TO "HOLD OUT" ON SIGNING THE PFT. IN FEB 22 CONVERSATION, SOVIET MFA CHINA SPECIALIST, WHILE BELITTLING CHINESE POTENTIAL TO FULFILL ITS EXPORT GOALS UNDER RECENTLY SIGNED SINO-JAPANESE TRADE AGREEMENT, LAMENTED THAT THE AGREEMENT HAS GIVEN PEKING NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO ENCOURAGE JAPANESE BUSINESS INTERESTS TO PRESSURE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO SIGN PFT. (MEMCON POUCHED) MATLOCK

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TAGS: PEPR, JA, UR, CH
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